Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

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Reds' Weakness: On Capitol Hill, the more thoughtful have come to believe that Red political weakness, not Red military strength, is the big story in the troubled situation in Eastern Europe.

While the more blatant liberal pundits headline Soviet missiles and bombers, veteran foreign correspondents stress the rumblings of political discontent behind the Iron Curtain. Thus, the well-known and reliable foreign affairs writer, Marguerite Higgins of the New York *Herald Tribune,* reports that "East Germany may be closer to an anti-Communist blowup today than at any time since 1953"—the year when workers rose and attacked Communist tanks with their bare hands.

The fact is that shortages in East Germany have forced food rationing on the local level and soap rationing in such areas as Potsdam and Leipzig. Even the Communist press recently printed reports of meetings of East Germans who protested any Communist action against Berlin, expressing fear of war.

Miss Higgins concludes that "the really explosive area inside the Soviet empire is—East Germany."

But in satellite states all along the Eastern European perimeter, discontent against the Soviet Russian masters has been mounting. Edward Crankshaw reports in the London *Observer* that, while Moscow had been giving economic help to these states, in recent months (because of internal Russian troubles) Khrushchev has been forced to reverse these aid policies. Consequently, "There has been a very sharp fall in living standards in the satellites," says Crankshaw, who stresses the food shortage in East Germany, food queues in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the significant Bulgarian political crisis. Additionally, within Russia itself, the accent is on "horse meat," as Khrushchev has publicized.

Hence, on Capitol Hill there are rumblings of discontent against what Senator Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) calls President Kennedy's "soft-boiled" advisers, who reportedly urge the gentle approach to Khrushchev's provocations. Scott says that these "sissy pants out in left field," among the White House crowd, think they can "butter up" the Soviet Premier by talk of United Nations intervention, withdrawal of forces and other concessions.

There's one telling move by which Khrushchev can be set off balance in the diplomatic back-and-forth; that's an aggressive, vocal counteroffensive by the US for freedom of the "Captive Nations"—in short, the East Germans, the Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, not to mention the Ukrainians (inside Russia).

In 1959 and 1960, in the month of July, President Eisenhower proclaimed friendship and help to these slave nationalities and kept the fires of independence burning. It is a little-known fact that a proposal for a congressional resolution of this nature has been gathering dust in the cupboard of the House Rules Committee since last February, without any reports of early action.

It is recalled that it was the Rules Committee which Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, at the insistence of President Kennedy, packed with a majority of New Frontiersmen. Only one partially successful revolt against the Iron Rule of the White House has occurred in this committee—on the Federal aid-to-education bill. Today, some members feel another revolt—on aid to the "Captive Nations"—is overdue.

Capital Climate: The atmosphere of Washington has changed sharply from that prevailing on the day after the Inauguration. The nice way to describe it in public prints, now five months later, is that "the honeymoon is over." But in private conversation around the town, the judgment is less "nice."

Talk at luncheon parties, *obiter dicta* among people who meet on the street and pass the time of day, yarns across formal dinner party tables, and particularly the jokes heard at the cocktail hour—all reflect a critical mood which registers Kennedy very low, indeed, on—shall we say—"the prestige poll."

One of the current jocosities is: "The Administration has Castro-intestinal trouble—too much Castro and too little guts." Another: "Did you hear the news? Kennedy has asked for a recount." And, "The New Frontier—that's out where the Waste begins."

Interlarded with these significant jokes are true stories passed from mouth to mouth, such as one about a former Democratic member of Congress, himself a White House adviser under Truman. In January, this person's son talked of trying to get an appointment on the Kennedy team. The father

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advised "no." He said to his son: "I predict that this Administration will turn out to be a flop, one of the worst flops in our history. If you get a job very soon you'll want to resign—and quick." Today, the son says: "Dad, how right you were."

Is this purely local chatter, in a Capital which is prone to snipe at the "No. 1 man"? Probably not, to judge from word from California. A Democratic politico, just arrived in Washington from Sacramento, offers the following: Governor "Pat" Brown, musing unhappily over the President's plight, cracked, "Well, I guess Cuba is Jack Kennedy's Caryl Chessman case."

JFK Fat Cats: "A fat contribution to the Kennedy campaign kitty might not guarantee a top-level job in the new Administration. But it certainly doesn't hurt."

So wrote syndicated columnist Fulton Lewis, Jr., last week, after a careful examination of campaign records on file with the Clerk of the House of Representatives. These records show that dozens of key Kennedy appointees were heavy contributors to the Democratic National Committee, to Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson, or both.

It is ironic that Kennedy has given appointments to so many of his campaign contributors, for the former attacked this practice before the election. On more than one occasion, the Democratic Presidential nominee promised to select officials "for their ability and not the size of their campaign contributions."

Among numerous new State Department officials who gave generously to JFK and Company are:

- W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador at Large, $8,000.
- J. Kenneth Galbraith, Ambassador to India, $500.
- John Stanley Rice, Ambassador to the Netherlands, $5,000.
- James Gavin, Ambassador to France, $1,000.
- David K. E. Bruce, Ambassador to Great Britain and Northern Ireland, $1,000.
- Anthony Akers, Ambassador to New Zealand, $500.
- E. Grant Stockdale, Ambassador to Ireland, $2,500.
- G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State, $1,000.
- Angier Biddle Duke, Chief of Protocol, $2,000.
- George McGhee, Counselor and Chairman of Policy Planning Council, $2,000.
- Philip M. Klutznick, Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO), $5,000.
- Katie Louchheim, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Public Affairs, $5,725.

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg gave $750; Veterans' Administrator John Gleason, $1,200; Air Force Secretary Eugene Zuckert, $1,750; District of Columbia Commissioner Walter Tobriner, $1,000; Treasury Undersecretary Henry Fowler, $1,109; Assistant Attorney General Louis Oberdorfer, $500; Assistant Defense Secretary Paul Nitze, $3,500; Virgin Islands Governor Ralphael Paiewonsky, $1,000; Import-Export Bank President Harold Linder, $500; Import-Export Bank Director George Docking, $1,200.

Virginia: Observers of all political faiths agree that last week's Virginia Democratic primary stacks up as a victory for conservatism in the state. The Harry Byrd-endorsed candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General won handily over a well financed and hard working liberal slate.

The Byrd Democrats ran on a platform supporting a balanced budget and the state's right-to-work law. The liberal slate was of a New Frontier variety and ran strongest in sections of Northern Virginia where many Federal employees reside.

The Republicans have entered a candidate for Governor in the November elections, but, in view of the conservative victories for the other offices, active GOP candidates are unlikely. Observers note that, between the strong-as-ever Byrd Democrats and the growing number of Republicans in the state (many of whom are favorable to Byrd), a Democratic Presidential candidate has little hope of carrying the Old Dominion anytime in the foreseeable future.

An interesting sidelight of the race hasn't been picked up by the press. If the Byrd candidate for Lieutenant Governor had been beaten by the liberal candidate, a plan that had substantial backing was to persuade former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews, who resides in Richmond, to run for the lieutenant governorship as an independent "Goldwater Democrat."

Disillusion Among Labor: Kennedy Administration troubles include growing disillusion and disaffection—bitter under the surface—in the ranks of a political ally, organized labor. That part of it represented by the AFL-CIO is sounding off about failure of the Administration to reduce national unemployment, and even more so about the lack of a green light for the unions to campaign without restraint for wage boosts.

The federation's hierarchy, meeting recently at a summer union resort in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, softened its public statements, but privately agreed with caustic remarks by Leon Keyserling, who was head economic adviser in the Truman regime. Keyserling, who talks the language of the labor bosses, told reporters that the Kennedy advisers should "shut up" in regard to wages and prices. He said, "I'm tired of these Kennedy brain-trusters and intellectuals who say they can't do more because the people are not ready for it."

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Tinkering with Taft-Hartley: The resentment among labor bosses at the Kennedy-Goldberg use of a Taft-Hartley injunction to suspend the maritime strike is cautiously tempered by word that the Administration is working on proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, mainly the "national emergency" procedure which permits injunctions. The unioneers like a report that one of the powers the Administration will seek would permit seizure by the President of industries hogtied by strikes. But they don't like another reported proposal under which the President could force strikers back to work by ordering a "cooling-off" period without the necessity, as at present, of going to court for an injunction.

Such wide powers would be strongly resisted by conservatives in Congress. That body is not at all likely to act on them this year, even if it receives the proposals before the end of the current session.

"Pat" Brown on Reds: Democratic California Governor "Pat" Brown came under Republican fire a fortnight ago for blasting a legislative report on Communist activities in his state. The report, drafted by the California Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, pointed to Communist gains. It warned of increasing party activity on the campuses of the Golden State.

Following issuance of the report, Governor Brown termed as "ridiculous" the proposition that Communists have succeeded in infiltrating California schools.

Coming to the rescue of Democratic State Senator Hugh Burns, chairman of the investigating group, GOP Assemblyman Louis Francis said, "If irresponsibility is the desire to warn the people of a menace that continues to grow and flourish in the state, then I, too, am guilty . . . .

"Apparently neither the Governor nor his large staff [is] cognizant of the FBI reports, the congressional committees' reports, and even his own State Legislature's reports on the serious . . . infiltration of education and other major fields by communism."

Brown later helped kill a bill calling for a joint legislative committee on Un-American Activities and one prohibiting Communists from teaching in the state's schools.

Business Link Broken: Presidents, starting with FDR, have made use of the Business Advisory Council (BAC), which, under the Commerce Department, attempted to act as liaison between big industry and the Federal government. But President Kennedy now lacks this semi-official link. Under leadership of Roger Blough, board chairman of the U.S. Steel Corp., the 75 BAC members have sustained action by one of their committees, which recently broke the news at the White House that Council activity would no longer be restricted to that blessed by the Department of Commerce.

It became clear that the BAC and Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges could not get along with each other. BAC wanted to continue as an individualistic body; Hodges wanted to control its policies and actions.

Hodges learned of the divorce by telephone on a fishing trip in Canada. He has kept mum, but his aides expect him to try to form another business group of more tractable character.

The former BAC has changed its name to Business Council, has set up permanent offices in a non-governmental building here, and has offered to advise or otherwise assist, UPON REQUEST, any government agency. Foggy relations indicate no immediate requests.

Operation Sovereignty: While attempts to repeal the Connally Amendment were defeated last year, those who would have the United States hand over its sovereignty to the World Court (International Court of Justice) have not given up their fight. Within the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are four pieces of legislation—two resolutions and two treaties—designed to force the United States to have most or all of its disputes decided by the World Court, now headed by Bohdan Winiarski, a jurist from Red Poland. Following is a summary of the four measures mentioned above:

(1) S. Res. 39—Sponsored by Senators Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) and Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), this resolution would, in effect, repeal the Connally Amendment and make it mandatory that all conflicts even remotely international in character and involving the United States be brought before the World Court;

(2) S. Res. 136—Sponsored by Senators Javits, Humphrey and Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.), this resolution amounts to a second line of attack against US sovereignty in case S. Res. 39 fails. It asks the Senate to recommend to the President that he secure in any future treaty a provision making the World Court the supreme arbitrator of that treaty;

(3) The Treaty with Belgium—This treaty has a provision making the World Court the final arbitrator of this treaty;

(4) Executive "N" of the Law of the Seas Convention—This treaty, which Senator Russell Long (D.-La.) prevented from being voted upon last year, would provide that cases arising from incidents at sea involving the United States and signatories of Executive "N" must be decided by the World Court.

Informed sources on Capitol Hill say that the Administration, which has been campaigning for these measures, intends to bring them up toward the end of the session in an attempt to ram them through Congress without much debate and before the public can be alerted.

DONALD C. BRUCE, Republican Congressman from Indiana: "The contribution of HUMAN EVENTS to the continuing struggle for the preservation of liberty for future generations is beyond measurement!"

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Counting the Spending: The Republican House Policy Committee's staff director, Dr. Donald Ackerman, has just compiled a report on the cost of legislative programs during the New Frontier's first five and a half months.

The GOP report said that to date the "Congress has been asked to enact new authority to obligate and commit the American people to increased Federal expenditures of $11.8 billion in excess of the Eisenhower estimates for fiscal years 1961 and 1962."

Dr. Ackerman states that, "due to the impact of back-door spending and a certain indefiniteness in certain proposals," it is difficult to pin down the exact costs of all New Frontier legislation thus far.

Dr. Ackerman ventured an estimate, however, that expenditures for the New Frontier legislation, both enacted and proposed, would cost $24.3 billion for fiscal year 1962. Assuming that current planning is carried through, these projects, over a five-year period, would cost taxpayers $107.9 billion.

Peace Corps Spending: Peace Corps headquarters in Washington has released a booklet which asserts that it will cost $9,000 a year to train and maintain a member of the Peace Corps.

Although it was first said that allowances would be "stripped to the bone," New Frontiersmen now say that one-third of the $9,000 will go for "Peace Corps overhead costs" (no "low overhead," apparently). One-half of the remaining $6,100 will go for a $150-a-month subsistence allowance, used largely for food and "incidentals" by the corpsman during his two-year hitch. In addition, there will be monthly allotments for rent, medical supplies and readjustment and leave allowances.

Senator Alexander Wiley (R.-Wis.) notes that the Catholic Church has a similar work program for young men in Latin America. An unmarried volunteer can be trained, sent, supported and brought back from Latin America—at a total cost of $2,860 for a three-year hitch!

Capitol Camera: Professor Stuart Kirby, of the University of Hong Kong Economics Department, noted last week that, although weather conditions in the Far East have been uniform, Red China has suffered an average crop loss of at least 20 per cent, while Taiwan (Formosa) suffered a loss of 13 per cent and Hong Kong only 8 per cent. He added: "Recovery in Taiwan was rapid and marked in contrast to the continued complaints from the mainland."

• *Senator John G. Tower (R.-Tex.), the first GOP Senator from Texas since reconstruction days (and the first Republican Senator ever elected by the people of Texas), has been awarded three prize committee assignments from Republican Senators. Tower was assigned to the Labor and Banking Committees and was given a seat, unheard of for a freshman Senator, on the GOP Policy Committee. Senate Republican Policy Chairman Styles Bridges of New Hampshire said he thought the "precedent-shattering step was completely warranted because the State of Texas shattered a precedent itself in sending him here."*

• Last week the State Department announced that Salvatore A. Bontempo, the Kennedy appointee to head State's security setup (although he is a career politico with no security experience), would not (at Bontempo's request) be immediately sworn in. Previously the swearing-in had been put off for two weeks—after House Committee on Un-American Activities Chairman Francis Walter and HUMAN EVENTS blew the whistle on Bontempo's lack of qualifications for the important and sensitive post.

• *President Kennedy, say insiders, will now rely more on the carrot rather than the stick to soothe Congressmen into passing his legislation. Of the 100 District and Circuit judgeship appointments to which Kennedy has fallen heir and which are desperately needed, according to the Administration, Kennedy has appointed only seven. The rest, apparently, will be dangled as bait for Congressmen who do yeoman service for the Administration.*

Obit Chambers: Last week, Whittaker Chambers, the man who did more (in the Hiss case) to expose the Communist conspiracy than anyone else, died after a long struggle with heart disease. On July 13, 1949, HUMAN EVENTS dared (a rare act in those days) to pay tribute to Chambers' courage in testifying to Congress, for which course he suffered vicious smearing by most of the press. HUMAN EVENTS then quoted Chambers' apologia: "I am a man very reluctantly and grudgingly, step by step, destroying myself so that this nation and the faith by which it lives may continue to exist. [HUMAN EVENTS had reported his dangerous cardiac condition.] It is not a role I would have chosen for myself. I am merely doing the job as I see it. I have a task to do and I am going about it in my own crude way. Someone, some way, had to come along and lift off the lid. Someone had to say, 'This is what is inside.' "

The Editor of HUMAN EVENTS recalls his own surprise when Chambers first testified in 1948—surprise not at what the ex-Communist revealed, but that someone had finally had the courage to "lift the lid." Elsewhere, we remarked that Whittaker Chambers was unique in his day, "an accident of integrity." *Requiescat in pace.*

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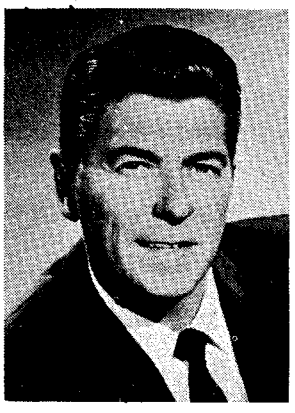
Encroaching Government Controls

By RONALD REAGAN

IT MUST SEEM presumptuous to some of you for a member of my profession to stand here and attempt to talk on problems of the nation . . . . However, a few years ago "a funny thing happened to us on the way to the theatre." Ugly reality came to our town on direct orders of the Kremlin. Hard core party organizers infiltrated our business. They created cells, organized Communist fronts, and for a time, deceived numbers of our people, who with the best of intentions, joined these fronts while still ignorant of their true purpose. The aim was to gain economic control of our industry and then subvert our screens to the dissemination of Communist propaganda.



RONALD REAGAN

Whatever the shortcomings, Hollywood had achieved a great deal. In the finest traditions of free enterprise, 70 per cent of the playing time of all the screens of the world had been captured by the output of the American film capital. You may disagree sometimes with our "boy meets girl" plot, but all over the world our pictures were a window through which less fortunate humans had a glimpse of freedom and of our material comforts as well. The men in the Kremlin wanted this propaganda medium for their own destructive purposes.

Confident of their power, the Reds in our midst made one mistake in judgment. They mistook their ability to deceive for success in conversion. Under the guise of a jurisdictional strike, they made an open effort to destroy the guilds and unions who remained free from their control. Ultimately, they hoped for one vertical union of motion picture people under the umbrella of Harry Bridges' maritime union. After the first shock, the people of the movie colony rallied quickly—we lived through scenes that heretofore had been only make-believe. Thousands of massed pickets overturned cars, homes were bombed, and threats of acid in the face were directed at performers. Months later their power was broken. The studios had remained open thanks to the refusal of management and the majority of our people to be intimidated.

We now know of course that we only won an isolated battle. In the "spirit of Camp David" the Communist party has ordered once again the infiltration of the picture business as well as the theatre and television. They are crawling out from under the rocks; and memories being as short as they are, there are plenty of well-meaning but misguided people willing to give them a hand.

We don't mean to present ourselves as "being able to run the circus now that we've seen the monkey," but it is possible we have an awareness not shared by many of our fellow citizens.

Most people agree that the ideological struggle with Russia is the number one problem in the world. Millions of words are used almost daily to record the fluctuating temperature of the cold war. And yet, many men in high places in government and many who mould opinion in the press and on the airwaves, subscribe to a theory that we are at peace, and we must make no overt move which might endanger that peace. "Men cry peace, but there is no peace." The inescapable truth is that we are at war, and we are losing that war simply because we don't, or won't realize that we are in it.

True, it is a strange war fought with unusual weapons, but we cannot yell foul, because it is a declared war. Karl Marx established the cardinal principle that communism and capitalism cannot coexist in the world together. Our way of life, our system, must be totally destroyed; then the world Communist state will be erected on the ruins. In interpreting Marx, Lenin said, "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialistic states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer."

Last November, the Communist parties of 81 *countries held a convention in Moscow; and on December* 6, *reaffirmed this principle of war to the death. In a* 20,000*-word manifesto, they called on Communists in countries where there were non-Communist governments to be traitors and work for the destruction of their own governments by subversion and treason.*

Eastern Europe has been taken, and Communists are organizing the hordes of Asia around the red colossus of China. Even now, it would appear we are preparing to drink the bitter cup of capitulation in Laos only partly diluted by face-saving devices. Cuba is a Soviet beach-head ninety miles off shore, and more than 250,000 Communist organizers are spread up and down Latin America.

The Communists are supremely confident of victory. They believe that you and I, under the constant pressure of the cold war, will give up, one by one, our democratic customs and traditions. We'll adopt emergency "temporary" totalitarian measures, until one day we'll awaken to find we have grown so much like the enemy that we no longer have any cause for conflict.

Three months before his last visit to this country, Nikita Khrushchev said, "We can't expect the American people to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving them small doses of socialism, until they

Ronald Reagan is a famous motion picture and television actor. This article consists of extracts from an address he made before the Business Educational Institute of New Jersey.

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awaken one day to find they have communism." This is not a new thought. In 1788, James Madison told the Virginia convention, "Since the general civilization of mankind, I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachment of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."

Others much more recently have counted on this with no realization they would one day be furthering the Soviet cause. A socialist clergyman, writing in the *New Leader*, the socialist magazine of 1927, called for a new strategy. He said socialists should place themselves in government jobs and work for government ownership of power, and control of railroads, banking, and key industries. He called his program—"Encroaching Control."

Appealing not to the worst, but to the best in our natures, those of the liberal persuasion have used our sense of fair play—our willingness to compromise—and have perfected a technique of "foot in the door" legislation. Get any part of a proposed program accepted, then with the principle of governmental participation in that field established, work for expansion, always aiming at the ultimate goal—a government that will someday be a big brother to us all.

IT IS NOW proposed that all people of social security age be given government paid medical and hospital care. As nearly as can be determined, less than 10 per cent of our senior citizens require aid in meeting their medical needs. The last session of Congress adopted a measure known as the Kerr-Mills bill to provide money for state administered aid to these people. However, without even waiting to see if this meets the problem, a revised version of the once defeated Forand bill is advocated to force all people into a compulsory government health insurance program, regardless of need. Why? Well, ex-Congressman Forand provides the answer. He says, "If we can only break through and get our foot in the door, then we can expand the program after that." Walter Reuther has said his group makes no secret of the fact that they want nationalized health service for all. *New American*, a socialist magazine, writes, "The Forand bill will not be paid on the insurance principle according to factors of estimated risk. It will be paid for through the tax mechanisms of Social Security . . . . Once the bill is passed, this nation will be provided with a mechanism for socialized medicine."

The press recently told of a group whose religious belief forbade their participation in any government welfare program. Their property was seized and their cattle sold at auction to enforce their payment of Social Security taxes.

In education, the foot in the door was the $900 million National Defense Education Act of 1958. The excuse was, as usual, the cold war. Russia had put a sputnik into orbit; obviously, our educational system must be at fault. Now one of the largest spending lobbies in Washington is promoting a $2½ billion program to alleviate allegedly crowded schools, underpaid teachers, and bankrupt school districts.

Again, the facts seem strangely at variance. Ninety-nine and one-half per cent of the nation's school districts have not even approached their bonded limit of indebtedness. A 35 per cent increase in students over the last decade has been matched by a 134 per cent increase in spending by the local communities. An increase of 10 million students has seen classrooms built for 15 million. Five hundred colleges, as of this moment, can take an additional 200,000 students without adding so much as a desk or chair. We are told we must build 60,000 classrooms a year for the next ten years, but they forget to tell us we've been building 68,000 a year for the last five years and that continuation of this rate will give us a surplus of classrooms by 1970.

Of course, we want teachers to be paid adequately; and we *are* doing something about it. Their average pay has risen in the last few years from $3100 to $5300 annually. The truth is, not one shred of evidence has been presented that Federal aid of any kind is required. Could we possibly believe that three-fourths of one billion dollars a year in Federal aid could solve any great emergency when we are spending nearly twenty billion dollars a year at the local level?

Federal aid is the foot in the door to Federal control. In spite of their denials, their own words betray them. The Director of Public Education of the State of Washington tells of the two-year struggle of his state to meet the rigid requirements of the National Director of Education under the present act. He says, "This is Federal control by indirection—all the more dangerous because it poses as a Federal handout."

TWENTY-SEVEN years ago, our farmers were told that a Federal subsidy did not mean Federal control. Now we have seen a rancher, Evetts Haley, Jr., fined $4000 for raising wheat on his own land and feeding it to his own cattle. The Supreme Court upheld his conviction with a single-sentence ruling—"Yes, an agency of the Federal government has the right to tell an American citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use."

This nation has tried to *curb* the production of a surplus by making it so financially attractive to *produce* a surplus that we own enough wheat to bake twenty-five loaves of bread for every person alive. In the State of New Mexico, citizens learned they could rent state-owned land for 25c an acre and immediately apply for and receive $9 an acre from the Federal government for not planting the land.

All of the "farm mess" is concerned with the 20 per cent of agriculture coming under government regulation and subsidy. Eighty per cent of our agricultural economy is out in the free market of supply and demand. It would seem that the answer to the "farm mess" would be to free the other 20 per cent of governmental regimentation; but, what is being advocated? We are told that the only solution to the problem is to bring the other 80 per cent into the government program. To that end a plan is advanced that would result in the licensing of every farm in the United States with complete governmental regulation of production and price.

Thomas Jefferson said, "If we let Washington tell us when to sow and when to reap, the Nation shall soon want for bread."

Today, no one denies the American people would resist the nationalization of industry. But, in

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defiance of this attitude the Federal government owns and operates more than 19,000 enterprises covering 47 lines of activity from rum distilling to the manufacture of surgical equipment. The estimated book value of 700 governmental activities is $260 billion. Operating tax free, dividend free, and rent free in direct competition with its own citizens, the government loses billions each year in these undertakings.

All of these things have led to the growth of a collection of internal powers and bureaucratic institutions against which the individual citizen is virtually helpless. We now have a permanent structure of government beyond the reach of Congress and actually capable of dictating policy. This power, under whatever name you choose, is the very essence of totalitarianism.

A year ago, a sub-committee of Congress reported its findings in the field of Federal employees. There are almost 2½ million. In 1942, there was one top salaried executive for every 89 employees; today, there is one for every 17. The committee further reported it found little evidence that any bureau, agency, or commission created in answer to an emergency ever went out of existence after the emergency disappeared.

Some people attempt to justify government in business on the grounds of greater efficiency due to central control. An example of this efficiency can be found in the Claims Department of the Veterans Administration insurance program. In that department, three government employees take double the time to perform the task normally assigned to one employee in a private insurance company.

HOPELESS as it may seem, we *can* do something about it! We must inform ourselves on the proposals pending in Congress. Look beyond the foot in the door to the ultimate aim. Weigh the price we must pay in individual liberty and whether these programs qualify as things the people can't do for themselves. Then write to your Congressmen and Senators. Also, don't forget to write now and then just to say "well done" to your Representative when he has acquitted himself well on the firing line.

A basic point to remember is that none of these extensions of socialism can be effected without money. The fodder upon which our government has fed and grown beyond the consent of the governed is the fruit of the tax system whose only consistency is that a levy once imposed is seldom removed. An excise tax on telephones imposed during the Korean War was to curb telephone use during the emergency and really wasn't intended for revenue. The war is over, but the tax lingers on—the government has discovered it needs the revenue. This particular tax, plus some of the hundreds of hidden and indirect taxes that burden us, accounts for one-third of your telephone bill. One hundred such taxes account for one-half the price of a loaf of bread, one-fourth the cost of an automobile, one-half your gas and oil.

Once we were told the income tax would never be greater than 2 per cent and that only from the rich. In our lifetime, this law has grown from 31 to more than 440,000 words. We have received this progressive tax direct from Karl Marx who designed it as the prime essential of a socialist state. In the surtax brackets, the steepest rate of increase occurs through the middle income range where are to be found the bulk of our small businessmen, professional people, and supervisory personnel—the people Marx said should be taxed out of existence. At sixteen-to-eighteen thousand dollars of income, a man reaches the 50 per cent tax rate. From 50 per cent on up to the confiscatory 91 per cent rate, the government can only justify these brackets on a punitive basis, for the gross revenue derived from all the tax of 50 per cent or above is less than three-fourths of $1 billion.

There can be no normal justification of the progressive tax. Perhaps that is why the bureaucrats pretend it is proportionate taxation. Proportionate taxation we would gladly accept on the theory that those better able to pay should remove some of the burden from those least able to pay. The Bible explains this in its instruction on tithing. We are told we should give the Lord one tenth and if the Lord prosper us ten times as much, we should give ten times as much. But under our progressive income tax, computing Caesar's share is a little different. If a $5000 a year man today is prospered 10 times, his income tax increases 53 times as much.

Does this help the little man? A man with a gross income of $3500, a wife and two children will find when he has finished paying the hidden and indirect taxes, that the tax collector's share of his gross $3500 is $1059. Some suggest the answer to his problem is to tax the upper incomes even more—but what leeway is left? If the government confiscated all personal income above $6000 a year, the increased revenue wouldn't pay the interest on the national debt.

No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden of one-third of its national income. Today, 31c out of every dollar earned is tax and of that 31c, 23c goes to the Federal government; leaving 8c to be shared by the state, county, and local community. No wonder we are told to ask for Federal aid! But wouldn't it make more sense to keep the money here in the first place instead of running it through that puzzle palace on the Potomac only to get it back minus a sizable carrying charge?

Lenin once said, "The way to destroy Capitalism is to debauch the currency and unobservedly confiscate the wealth of its citizens."

Here is the main battleground! We must reduce the government's supply of money and deny it the right to borrow.

Two years ago, I appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee as a representative of the motion picture industry to urge tax reform. This was an experience similar to going over the Niagara Falls in a barrel—the hard way, upstream. In a month of hearings, representatives of practically every segment of our society appeared before the committee. *All* of them urged some kind of tax reform. It was obvious that the majority of the committee had little sympathy with our plea, so it was no surprise when, several months later, the committee decided to hold new hearings. This time no volunteers were allowed. A hand-picked group of predominantly campus economists appeared and talked of plugging loopholes to increase the government's tax revenue. Most of these so-called loopholes are the legitimate deductions without which

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the tax structure would have long since proved unworkable. The suggestions included disallowance of property taxes and interest on loans for income tax purposes and even the elimination of 100 per cent deductions of charitable contributions.

The biggest lobby in Washington pushing tax reform has a bill which will increase the government's tax take about $18 billion. It is no coincidence that they have, on the other hand, recommendations for $18 billion worth of welfare legislation. This measure will actually be presented as tax reduction with some cut in surtax rates.

Those of the liberal persuasion say they "reject the notion that the least government is the best government." They claim our citizens are not intelligent enough to spend their money properly. They feel the government should take the money through taxation and then buy the welfare programs for the masses which they are not smart enough to buy for themselves.

When the old fashioned idea of living within our means and paying something on the national debt is suggested, these same liberals tell us that "only State and local debt is bad." Through some exotic bookkeeping methods, they seem to feel that the Federal debt is meaningless. It is—it is incomprehensible.

If I had a four inch stack of thousand dollar bills in my hand, I'd be a millionaire. If we had the national debt of $293 billion before us in thousand dollar bills, the pile would be more than 18 miles high. Maurice Stans, former budget director, has said that this debt is only the part of the iceberg which shows above the surface. Legislation already enacted into law has obligated our government to more than $750 billion. Add to this the local and state debts plus the private debts of our citizens, and we find that we are mortgaged in an amount more than double the market value of every tangible asset and every foot of real estate in the United States.

When we point out the danger of more deficit spending, we are told, "we are sacrificing our security on the false altar of a balanced budget." This is not so. Our individual freedom and our free enterprise system are the very sources of our strength, and there can be little security any place in the free world if there isn't fiscal stability in the United States.

With no one using the term "socialism" to describe these encroaching controls, we find that today one out of seven of the nation's work force is on the public payroll. In just 15 years a 50 per cent increase in employees has been met with a 170 per cent increase in the public payroll. One fourth of our medicine is socialized. Sen. Harry Byrd estimates that forty million Americans receive some form of direct cash payment from government. We have a tax machine that in direct contravention to the Constitution is not designed to solely raise revenue but is used, openly and admittedly, to control and direct the economy and to equalize the earnings of our people.

DO NOT FORSAKE the other issues; but as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said, "Strike for the jugular. Reduce taxes and spending. Keep government poor and remain free." Write to your Congressman as individuals. Fifty letters from a group such as this means more than a resolution or a petition. Demand immediate tax reform which will reduce the percentage of the national income taken by government. There is a bi-partisan tax reform bill, the Herlong-Baker bill, now before the House Ways and Means Committee. A five year gradual reduction of rates makes it the best planned tax reform bill introduced in the last hundred years. For every billion saved in government spending, we can have a 2½ per cent reduction of income tax.

If your Congressman should say we must cut costs first and then reduce taxes—don't stand for it. Remind him that no government in history has ever voluntarily reduced itself in size. Governments don't tax to get the money they need. Governments will always find a need for the money they get.

There can only be one end to the war we are in. It won't go away if we simply try to outwait it. Wars end in victory or defeat. One of the foremost authorities on communism in the world today has said, we have 10 years. Not ten years to make up our minds, but ten years to win or lose—by 1970 the world will be all slave or all free.

In this land occurred the only true revolution in man's history. All other revolutions simply exchanged one set of rulers for another. Here for the first time the Founding Fathers—that little band of men so advanced beyond their time that the world has never seen their like since—evolved a government based on the idea that you and I have the God given right and ability within ourselves to determine our own destiny. Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction—we didn't pass it on to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same, or one day we will spend our sunset years telling our children and our children's children what it was once like in the United States when men were free.

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Why the John Birch Society is Under Fire

BY SKEPTICUS

FOR SOME TIME now I have been trying to figure out how the John Birch Society got to be a "menace." A few patriotic men, alarmed by the general indifference to the activities of Communist spies and propagandists, especially in high places, band together to do something about it, and, before you can say "Witch Hunter!" these dedicated anti-Communists wake up to find themselves cast in the role of Public Enemy No. 1. Why?

A hint of the answer appeared in a fairly recent column by John Crosby, who is about as liberal as you can get. Wrote Crosby:

> "I recall the effect in Europe of the heydey of Senator McCarthy. Newspapers in Europe . . . [hadn't] much space for news from America. All of it seemed to be devoted to the howlings of Senator McCarthy. In Europe, in quite responsible quarters, there grew up the impression that Senator McCarthy was conducting a one-man reign of terror in America. Even expatriate Americans got the idea that everyone's job and well-being were in immediate danger of destruction from McCarthy. Those of us in the United States knew that *McCarthy's rantings, while distasteful, touched only a tiny number of people. Life went on. Kids played in the streets.*"

Well, there it is. There never was a McCarthy reign of terror; and the intellectuals and columnists and politicians who did their best to convince our people and the people of Europe that Joe McCarthy was another Hitler were just liars. As Marian Anderson sings it, the liberals had "the whole world in their hands," but they had to pretend to be terrified. Liberals never feel right if they aren't being persecuted—without benefit of fire and a sword, of course. For a while Joe McCarthy made them shiver and shake, but he is dead and the liberals must have a new scourge of the Right. Hence the John Birch Society, which appeared at just the moment when faith in the "Menace of McCarthyism" was waning. With conservatism actually attracting the middle classes, something had to be found to make their flesh creep. The John Birch Society was unanimously elected.

Of course the fear of McCarthy was strictly for the birds as far as the liberal cognoscenti were concerned. Edward R. Murrow tried to make the "Monster" look ridiculous on the air. Some liberal columnists accused him with impunity of everything from income tax evasion to an implied interest in homosexuality. Such as General Telford Taylor described Joe as a "problem," and even Owen Lattimore, who had reason for some minor anxiety, parlayed his encounter with McCarthy into a book which remains the liberal authority on the Lattimore affair. Every pipsqueak left-winger took his fling at the Senator, and some of the wounded have been making a career of it ever since. The final framing of Joe McCarthy, with the press, the columnists and a parcel of half-witted political cowards doing the Communists' work for them, should be proof enough that nobody who knew what was happening was afraid of Joe McCarthy. That was just stuff to feed the jerks.

Mostly the jerks didn't scare easily. If anything, they suspected that Joe had something, although, with press coverage the way it was, this was hard to prove. But the intellectuals, as usual, were suckers for the "Menace of McCarthyism." During the days of the inquisition I heard an eminent professor of medicine at a leading university declare that he stood more in dread of "McCarthyism" than of communism!

With people like that, "McCarthyism" still has a little kick in it, but it looks as if the transfer of the title to the John Birch Society is about completed. At a National Education Association conclave at Atlantic City in June, Dr. E. H. Mellon, Superintendent of Schools in Champaign, Illinois, warned his listeners that, if the schools didn't teach the truth about communism, "the John Birch Society might come in and all of a sudden you'd have something as bad as communism!"

IN MCCARTHY'S day there were other conservatives, just as the Right today is no monopoly of the John Birch Society. Why the concentration of left-wing wrath on these particular targets? I suggest that the answer appeared in the *Reporter* magazine for July 15, 1953, an issue devoted exclusively to "McCarthyism." The tipoff can be found in an editorial by Max Ascoli entitled "The Time Has Come, Mr. President," the burden of same being that it was time for Ike to take out after Joe and purge him from the Republican party. Here follows the revealing passage:

> "Since the major and most enduring cause of international disturbances is to be found in international communism, the American demagogues developed a course of action which, to paraphrase Stalin's motto, may be called 'anti-communism in-one-country.' It is a course that leads away from costly international alliances and restricts the struggle to the home front . . . It has become an established principle that men and women, public servants or writers or teachers or just next door neighbors, may at any time be called upon to prove that they are not traitors to their country. This extraordinary form of national hypochondria must be delectable to the professional carriers of Communist infection."

In short, the crime of Senator McCarthy, and now of Mr. Robert Welch's adherents, is their interest in internal subversion, an interest which might conceivably stimulate a popular determination to deal with it. That is the Greatest Common Factor between "McCarthyism" and Birchism, and it explains the leftist outcry against both. Communists don't worry too much about our military programs. Politicians can talk as big as they like about what we're gonna do if the Communists muscle into Berlin

Skepticus is the *nom de plume* used by one of America's most famous editors.

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or Laos. But the "professional carriers of Communist infection" will go to any length to frustrate any move which threatens the security of their thousands of agents and spies now operating throughout the world, including the United States. That is the nerve you must not touch.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that the first published attack on the John Birch Society appeared in the West Coast Communist paper, the *People's World.* Within a few weeks, editorials—mostly ignorant—had appeared in scores of newspapers; speeches had been made by Senator Milton Young (R.-N.D.), Senator Stephen Young (D.-Ohio), and Representative Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) who claimed to have discovered an official of the West German Government who was "deeply concerned over the activities of the Birch Society." It reminded him of the beginning of Hitler's rise to power!

From here on the liberal scare campaign went into high gear and to ridiculous lengths. The *Overseas* (referred to by G.I.'s as the Oversexed) *Weekly,* a tabloid sold at military posts, put the finger on General Edwin Walker of the 24th Infantry Division for the crime of suggesting to his troops in Germany that communism was a disease that had to be fought at home as well as in the field. Some mysterious characters in the Pentagon proceeded to elect the House Committee on Un-American Activities to the John Birch Society by barring from Army posts showings of "Operation Abolition," the Committee's documentary account of the Communist-sponsored student riots at a Committee hearing in San Francisco in May of 1960. Drew Pearson chimed in later with an effort to score a double. He reported that the GOP national committee was trying to work out an alliance with the J. B. S.

Breaking through into higher ground, the New York *Times,* an old hand at scaring liberals, ran a story indicating that the Pentagon was alarmed by the number of high ranking officers who "are indoctrinating their commands and the civilian populations near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Society." The *Times* reported solemnly that "the chief ingredient of these philosophies is often a militant anti-communism. The argument is that Communist subversion today is rife among the schools, the churches, labor unions, government offices and elsewhere and that this is a far greater threat to national survival than the international aspects of the Communist conspiracy." There it is again: that veto on concern with internal subversion.

Well, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Soviet spies have "infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity; youth groups, radio, television and motion picture industries; church, school and educational groups; the press, nationality minority groups and political units." The State Department has estimated that the USSR has some 300,000 trained operatives doing Khrushchev's work throughout the world. But, according to the New York *Times,* military men who are concerned about this and attempt to arouse the Republic to its danger are a worry to their superiors.

The twittering among the liberals is easily understood, but the reported panic among government officials, whom one might expect to be more concerned with Khrushchev's spies than with those who want to root them out, is more mysterious.

Frankly, I doubt that there is any alarm in the Pentagon over the patriotism of soldiers! If there was a panic, it was created by the meddlesome liberal journals.

The esteemed *Times* also hatched a hare-brained effort to persuade the Post Office Department to forbid a company to stamp its letters with the legend "This is a Republic, Not a Democracy—Let's Keep It That Way." According to the New York *Post,* a P. O. official justified this attempt to blue-pencil Ben Franklin on the ground that "a great many people may consider the association of the slogan with the Birch Society as being objectionable." Aside from a good forty-five cent cigar, what this country needs is more public officials with enough guts not to shake in their shoes every time the liberals yell "Take to the hills."

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.), who is much concerned about internal subversion but also thinks the Birchers weaken their case by indiscriminate attacks on public figures, said in the Senate that, while the power of the press had been "used effectively in the case of the John Birch Society," he could not understand why the press has "not used this weapon anywhere near as effectively against the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the various offshoots of the 'Communist Peace Offensive' and the other Communist front operations in this country."

If the Senator can find the answer to that one, he will earn the eternal gratitude of the whole nation. Just who manipulates the cam shaft by means of which Communist objectives become the objectives of liberals and are presented as *bona fide* ideas for everybody? How did protection of the Soviet spy apparatus get to be the legitimate concern of liberals and all right-thinking people? It is time for government officials to become interested in the answer to that question, instead of in hampering and smearing those who ask it!

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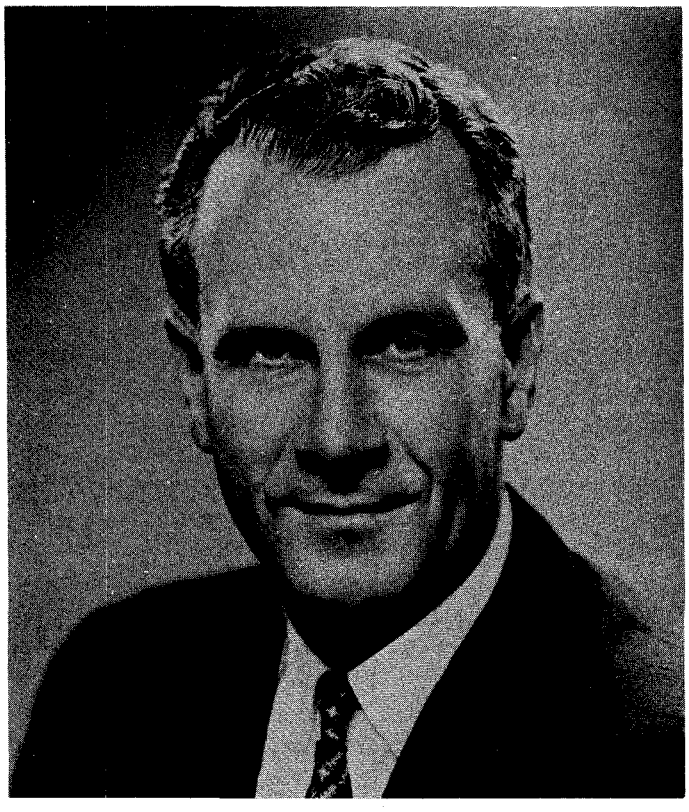
Bruce Alger vs. Mr. Sam

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.



BRUCE ALGER

To the Society columnists the Honorable Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, is the Capital's most eligible bachelor.

To the public, Mr. Sam is an irascible, loveable, somewhat cranky individual who daily sets new records for longevity in the Speaker's chair.

But there is another side to Mr. Sam. It is that of a bitter vindictive politician, intent upon political destruction.

Take the case of Dallas Congressman Bruce Alger, whose Fifth District adjoins that of Mr. Sam. All this should make the two bosom buddies, save for one thing; Mr. Alger is a Republican.

When Bruce Alger was first elected to Congress in 1954, Mr. Sam chalked it up as a political fluke. He personally directed the Democratic campaign that followed two years later, and saw Alger squeak through once again.

For two solid years, Texas' Democrats, under Mr. Sam's watchful eye, worked toward the 1958 election. The year was a disastrous one for the GOP, but Alger again came through unscathed.

The 1960 elections sent Alger back to the Congress once more, the only Republican in the state's 22-man delegation. Six months later, Alger was instrumental in the election of John Tower, the first Republican sent to the US Senate from Texas in almost 100 years.

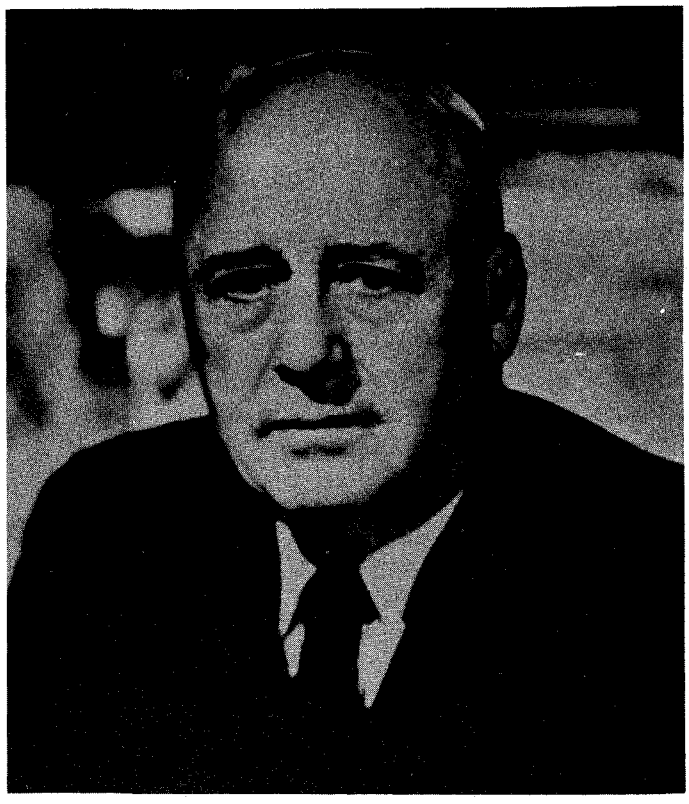
The insult was more than Mr. Sam could bear. He redoubled all efforts to make sure that Alger will be defeated next time out. Part of these efforts concern a building, and behind this building lies an interesting tale.

Eight years ago, the General Services Administration completed a survey of Dallas County, concluding that Dallas needed a new courthouse and Federal building to serve residents of the fast-growing area.

Three years later a detailed GSA prospectus outlined the need "in the best interests of the United States" for a Dallas Federal Building. In the same month the project was approved by the Budget Bureau, and the House and Senate Public Works Committees.

By October, 1957, the GSA had announced acquisition of a site in downtown Dallas, and a year

SAM RAYBURN



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later awarded contracts for design of the building to the firms of George Dahl and Mark Lemmon, both of Dallas.

The Senate Public Works Committee reauthorized construction in 1960, but the House Committee strangely took no action on the building. Published reports stated at the time that Mr. Sam decided to "clamp down" on the young Republican whipper-snapper by vetoing approval of the much needed Federal building in Alger's district.

Mr. Sam denied the reports; but when Representative Alger wrote asking the Speaker's support for building approval, his letters went unanswered.

Finally, on June 14, 1961, the full Public Works Committee of the House took action on the Dallas project. Mr. Sam cracked the whip and by a 16-14 party-line vote the project was defeated.

When this reporter attempted to contact Mr. Sam to ask about the Dallas building, he found the Speaker "unavailable." About reports that Dallas would get no Federal building until Bruce Alger was defeated, the Speaker's office could say only, "No comment."

As I See It

By Congressman Bruce Alger (R.-Tex.)

The case for the Dallas Federal Building was my subject in a special order on the floor of the House. This action was a responsibility forced upon me as I saw it, by a political party line vote rejecting authorization of the building, after approval and reapproval over a five-year period. My presentation in the name of the one million people of the 5th District, and the several million served by Dallas Federal Courts and offices, stressed the merits of the building.

(1) *Convenience and efficiency*—A centralized location of 17 widely scattered agencies and Federal Courts will better serve those needing and seeking Federal help, and improve the convenience, efficiency and comfort of Federal personnel.

(2) *Economy*—Rental savings of $990,000 per year, plus $870,000 refurbishing of the present building located at 1114 Commerce, and a cost annually of $2.35 per square foot compared to the approximately $5 Dallas going rate, if leased.

(3) *Good government*—This point is the most important and had better be clearly understood by every citizen, particularly the rank and file of our people whose main contact with the government is paying taxes. This issue, like many, can be simply stated *or* complicated and distorted out of all understandable shape, even by the well meaning.

The issue at stake—Do we have government based on fact and merit *or* do we have "power politics," the rewarding or punishing of Districts and individuals, and their political leaders making deals outside the normal legislative process. Note at this point the concern of certain Dallas leaders, whomever they may be, that my speaking out and calling attention to the merits of the building and its political rejection might jeopardize the attainment of the building and/or alienate certain political leaders. Realize, too, then, the capitulation of these people to power politics, rather than representative government (the Republic within a Democracy).

Imagine some being so cowed by and fearful of the power of political leaders that they would prefer to agree to deals, to wait until "the building is given to us." On the other hand, where are those who believe that Federal buildings are studied and approved by legislative process of Congress and the Administration on the basis of fact and merit?

I choose to believe that I represent far more of the latter than the former. For my part, so long as I am the Member of Congress representing the 5th District, I shall vote on the basis of merit. There will be no deals outside the normal legislative process, and no fear, intimidation, or reprisals. So long as most Dallas citizens believe this, so long will I be willing to represent the 5th District, and no power on earth will intimidate me, coerce me, or cause me to change position apart from the merit of the proposal. By doing this I can protect the workingman from a dictatorial labor boss, I can protect the voiceless thousands from the selfishness or greed of misguided businessmen and business interests—and, most of all, I can protect and preserve our Constitutional government which alone assures our personal freedom, dignity and opportunity.

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--- COMMENTARY ---

"Anyone who claims he can increase a nation's purchasing power by redistributing wealth, juggling the prices, manipulating the currency, or by using any means other than labor intelligently applied in production, is either a fakir or a fool." —John Rustgaard

Vol. XVIII, No. 29 — Section V July 21, 1961

The Berlin Crisis

By Holmes Alexander

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S 1964 campaign slogan, as given by the quipsters ("He kept us out of war —in Cuba!") may be the message on Berlin, too.

MANSFIELD

But Mr. Kennedy has said many times, and proves every day, that he is a "political" President. He counts upon patronage, pressures and new prospects of election victories to help him along with his program. All practical politics, I suppose, is slightly immoral since the rule is that the end justifies the means. "To be a statesman, you've got to get re-elected," a foremost Frontiersman told me not long ago.

Well, Khrushchev has set 1961 as the showdown year for settling the Berlin and German questions. How is it going to look for Democrats in the 1962 election if we're at war over a question which is fraught with memories of Democratic shames in words like Yalta, Potsdam, Alger Hiss and "Why didn't FDR let General Patton capture Berlin?"

Every sign shows that Republicans are going to gain Senate, House and gubernatorial seats without a war. But if JFK becomes the fourth Democratic wartime President of the century—expect an anti-Democratic deluge. Also, expect the Last of the New Frontier in domestic legislation.

All this, I think, is necessary background for the understanding of the much-discussed speech on June 14th by Senator Mike Mansfield, the Majority Leader. Mansfield proposed that we consider forming a Free City of both West and East Berlin and having its integrity warranted by some international trusteeship. Mansfield said he was speaking for himself, not for the Administration, and that his main purpose was to open a discussion.

Mike Mansfield's word is as good as his oath, and nobody should doubt that these ideas are his own and were not piped from the White House. But neither should anybody doubt that desperate White House hands began to clutch at these straws as soon as they appeared. In point of fact, a great

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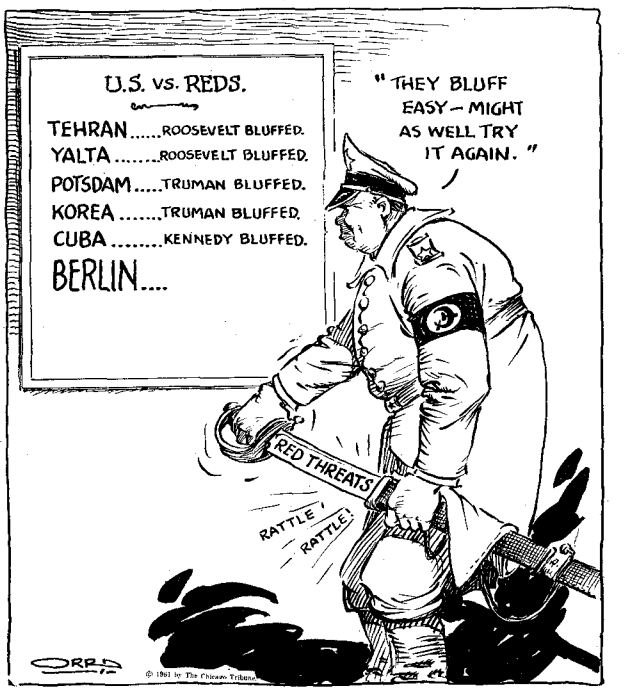

White House favorite these days, Senator Hubert Humphrey, soon followed Mansfield to the floor with this important word from a sponsor on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Humphrey: ". . . I know we must find a way to avert nuclear war, and to do so with honor, and not at the same time to cast aside our freedom and our independence . . . So I wish to thank the Senator from Montana."

From this it is plain how hard the Democrats are looking for ways out. The Free City of Berlin, under international trusteeship, would deprive West Berliners of their citizenship in the Federated Republic of Germany. It would leave the whole city as a castaway in a Communist sea. Yet the Democrats have not rejected the idea.

On the State Department shelves are other what-to-do-about Germany plans on which I have interviewed some officials. One plan calls for a German Commonwealth which would include the two-part countries, and the two-part cities, with their own local governments, in a central catch-all government. Another is a "consortium" arrangement which merely means a partnership or association. I have even heard it broached that all of Germany be returned to a constitutional monarchy with the various German states in control of local affairs and no central war machine.

All of these schemes have holes in them and are not recommended by much except expediency. But the Democrats are inspired by the strongest political motive—to stay in power—and they have begun the patchwork for peace.

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JFK and the Press

By Walter Trohan

VIENNA—One of the most curious phenomena of the meeting of the two K's in Vienna was the general unhappiness of the leftwing of the American press with President Kennedy and over his official conduct.

It has been estimated that 85 per cent of the Washington press corps leans left of the line of objectivity farther than the tower of Pisa, and sometimes as far left as the tower of Tass, the Soviet news agency.

Some go so far as to say they are not reporters but crusaders with pronounced limps to the left.

Not all of these heroes of the typewriter corps were for John Fitzgerald Kennedy before Los Angeles. Many viewed the wealthy young man with suspicion, being aware that he had served in the House and Senate for 14 years without important accomplishment.

Many favored Adlai E. Stevenson or Hubert Humphrey, who hadn't been distinguished by great accomplishment either, but were more vocal about it. However, when Mr. Kennedy was nominated they accepted him joyously and when he was inaugurated they began miracles with adjectives about his expected accomplishments.

There was more verbal glowing over his first 100 days, before they had passed, than there was about the historic 100 days after the Congress of Vienna, when Napoleon landed in France after his escape from Elba to meet defeat at Waterloo. But the bloom began to leave the rose when the first weeks were marked by more talk than action.

The first disillusionment came over the brave words about halting communist aggression in Laos and the backing down from the announced position. Then came the fiasco in Cuba in which the White House began practicing deception.

Finally, there came the eager pilgrimage to Vienna to meet Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev, when the President had promised during his campaign not to practice summitry without reaching agreements at lower levels or without promise of definite agreement.

All these developments were on the foreign scene. On the domestic scene the pro-Kennedy battalions in the press made much of little to cover up international blunders and fumbles. They were not, however, pleased over his pace or program.

In Paris and Vienna there was much head shaking over the President's performance and that of his staff. There was no joy over efforts to make it appear that President Kennedy had enchanted General Charles de Gaulle and charmed Khrushchev. There was sorrow over efforts to make triumphs sprout where there were none.

The inept press relations, marked by permitting the French foreign office to release the Paris statement before the United States made it public, the duel with the Russian spokesman to suppress more news than was released at Vienna, and the general lack of co-operation soured the press worshipers.

Many press hearts are bleeding over inexperience, lack of planning, absence of purpose, apparent indecision and immature advisers. There is muttering, not loud, but deep, of an Irishman who doesn't like to fight and of an Irishman who seems to have lost the luck of the Irish when it was most needed by his country and the noncommunist world.

• In Paris, during his recent visit, much was made of the thousands of photographs of the President and his charming wife, which sprouted in most Paris shop windows. Inquiry revealed that these colored photographs were not spontaneous evidence of popularity, but that the photographs were distributed by American officials at the expense of American taxpayers.

Photographs of the American President which were common in shops in various European countries last December have disappeared. The acclaim in the European press and as far away as Karachi has died and is being replaced by pointed criticism.

Congressman Broyhill's Taped Interview—$8

Joel T. Broyhill, Republican from Northern Virginia's 10th District, is the guest on this week's CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW. Mr. Broyhill discusses the current legislative session and views Southern politics from the Republican standpoint.

BROYHILL

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the nineteenth in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

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The Newburgh Story—Continued

A SHOWDOWN between the City of Newburgh, New York, and the State and Federal governments over Newburgh's administration of relief appears certain (see "Newburgh Secedes From the Welfare State" in last week's HUMAN EVENTS). City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell reaffirmed the City's intention of proceeding with implementation of Mitchell's 13 rules regulating the payment of relief.

A special committee of New York State's Board of Social Welfare—the policy-making body of the State Department of Welfare—declares that Newburgh's control of its relief program would jeopardize some $200 million a year that the State government receives from Uncle Sam in relief grants in aid; the committee will recommend court action to enjoin Newburgh from enforcing Mitchell's rules.

"This is not a welfare program; it's a matter of local autonomy," Mitchell told HUMAN EVENTS. It's a matter of determining the extent of a local government to shape its own future, he continued.

Asked the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., of New York State in a special Albany Report: *"Does a city or county have any control over welfare policies administered within its borders by local officials and paid in large part from local taxes? Or must it carry out the policies dictated from Washington and Albany even though those policies produce the problems of social and economic decline such as that taking place in Newburgh?"*

The New York State taxpayers' group added: "Newburgh has been clubbed with the threat of withholding Federal welfare aid . . . . The Federal government pays no aid for home relief and has no authority over that program. It is possible that Federal aid could be withheld from Newburgh for ADC (aid-to-dependent children) if Newburgh refused to conform to Federal requirements for that program. But that would not be a basis for withholding Federal aid for the aged, blind and disabled."

The New York taxpayers' organization asked if the outcome would be based on "right or might"—if the City will be "forced to *knuckle* under as a matter of bureaucratic, political or fiscal *expediency*."

Commented the *Wall Street Journal*: "It's a fine commentary on public morality in this country when a local community's effort to correct flagrant welfare abuses is declared illegal under both state and Federal law . . . . Well, there is a crime in connection with Newburgh all right. But it is not on the head of City Manager Mitchell. It is the crime of the social welfare sentimentalists and the hard-eyed politicians in Washington and elsewhere who use welfare fraud as a vote-getting gambit."

The New York *Times* sought to hew another line: "Newburgh, enjoying know-nothing applause from near and far for 'getting tough' on the needy, must be *made* by the State to realize that it is not a law unto itself." A good many *Times*' readers thought otherwise because the mail in a special series of letters, July 7, prompted by an editorial, ran two-to-one against the *Times*.

Dear Mr. Mitchell: **July 5, 1961**

Reading the account of your stand on welfarism in this week's Life magazine was as refreshing as breathing the clean air of my native Arizona.

This took courage on your part, but it is the kind of courage that must be displayed across this nation if we are to survive.

The abuses in the welfare field are mounting and the only way to curtail them are the steps which you have already taken.

My thanks to you as an American for this act and more power to you.

Sincerely,
Senator Barry Goldwater

Britain's Welfare Problems

Britain's National Assistance Board reports that fathers who prefer loafing to working are becoming an official problem, says an Associated Press dispatch from London.

The Board's report explained that most of them are fathers of large families who had low-paying jobs. By remaining unemployed, they can collect almost as much money in national assistance as they could by working at a full time job.

"Not only does the size of his family mean that provision for its maintenance is a heavy burden on the community," said the report, "the fact that a number of young children are growing up to regard idleness as a normal state of affairs cannot but cause concern.

"Where a man's earning capacity is low, his financial position when unemployed will not—if he has several children—be very different from that when he was at work.

"If of an idle disposition, the few extra shillings which employment offers may not outweigh the disadvantages as he sees it of giving up a life of comparative freedom for the discipline of regular employment."

The Board said last year it took the drastic action of prosecuting 88 men who persistently refused to take jobs while receiving full assistance. Two of the most flagrant cases listed:

A man with six children who hadn't worked in eight years. He insisted he could not afford to keep a job because it would cost him money to do so.

A man who won a contest for the best-dressed male in his town. Investigation revealed he had not worked in six years, drawing national assistance the entire time.

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Bureaucratic Pressure

From the Washington Daily News

OFFICIALS of Newburgh, N. Y., a city of 31,000, apparently are not going to get anywhere with New York State welfare officials who object to any kind of realistic controls over use of taxpayer money for relief. They wouldn't get very far in Washington either.

It is not the nature of bureaucracy to retrench. The more people there are on relief, the more people there are in the bureaucracy.

So a special committee of the State Social Welfare Board has ruled that Newburgh's proposed rules for reliefers are illegal. And the key to the ruling is revealed in the testimony by Bryon T. Hipple, Jr., deputy state welfare commissioner. He hinted darkly New York State might lose as much as $200 million in Federal handouts if Newburgh were permitted to get away with its plan.

This, we suggest, typifies the whole inherent weakness of a system which taps the taxpayers for vast sums to be hauled to Washington, then channeled back to the localities through state offices, with generous freight charges deducted at both the Federal and state levels.

Every dollar offered by the Federal Government must be grabbed, and never, never one refused, whether it is wastefully spent or not.

Even with a half-million in Federal and state aid, Newburgh officials calculated their relief load was rising so fast a 30 per cent boost in their property taxes would be necessary to pay the local end of the cost. Instead of raising taxes, they decided to crack down on relief chiselers.

Newburgh's city manager raised 19 questions about the administration of relief. He got no answers. Why are welfare payments higher than the pay of some who work for a living? What inducements are there to welfare recipients to get off relief as soon as possible? These were typical questions.

There are many in this prosperous land who, through no fault of their own, cannot make their own way. Society can afford and has an obligation to help them. But this is no excuse for a system which fawns on chiselers, makes living off public relief more attractive than self-reliance and exacts huge sums from the taxpayers for a top-heavy bureaucracy in the name of mercy and charity.

Mitchell's 19 Unanswered Questions

1. What provisions in welfare are there to protect citizens from tax increases where the city's welfare budget is exceeded?

2. *What provisions in welfare are there to stop the spread of blight in areas of high welfare caseloads?*

3. What provisions in welfare are there to protect the economy of areas where welfare costs and caseloads are rising?

4. *What provisions in welfare are there to correct welfare home environments in slum sections?*

5. What rationale does welfare use in setting welfare payments higher than the pay of those who work for a living?

6. *What guarantees are there that relief money will be spent for its intended purpose?*

7. What rationale justifies the acceptance of $16 million in Federal funds when such acceptance has the effect of forcing men to loaf?

8. *What provisions in welfare deal with unmarried mothers who continue to bear children out of wedlock?*

9. What planning in welfare is there to assist cities in economic and social reforms to reduce welfare costs and caseloads?

10. *What inducements in welfare are there to welfare recipients to get off of relief as soon as possible?*

11. What provisions in welfare are there to cope with families on relief for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 years?

12. *What efforts does welfare make to provide more home rule and latitude to each welfare district?*

13. What efforts does welfare make to obtain legislation to prevent migrants from becoming public charges?

14. *What efforts does welfare make to ease the impact on cities of migratory movements as this reflects in welfare costs and local economies?*

15. What evaluation does welfare make of the total and collective efforts of each welfare district as they reflect on the social and economic health of these districts?

16. *What evaluation does welfare make of welfare caseloads and costs across the state with respect to causes and solutions of the problems of each area as reflected in welfare and what follow-up actions does it take?*

17. Why haven't welfare costs and caseloads been reduced in 10 years of prosperity?

18. *What provisions has welfare made to convince those on relief that their obligation to the taxpayers is to get off of relief and regain their self-respect?*

19. What public relations efforts does welfare engage in to discourage the basic idea of relief as a respectable way of life?

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